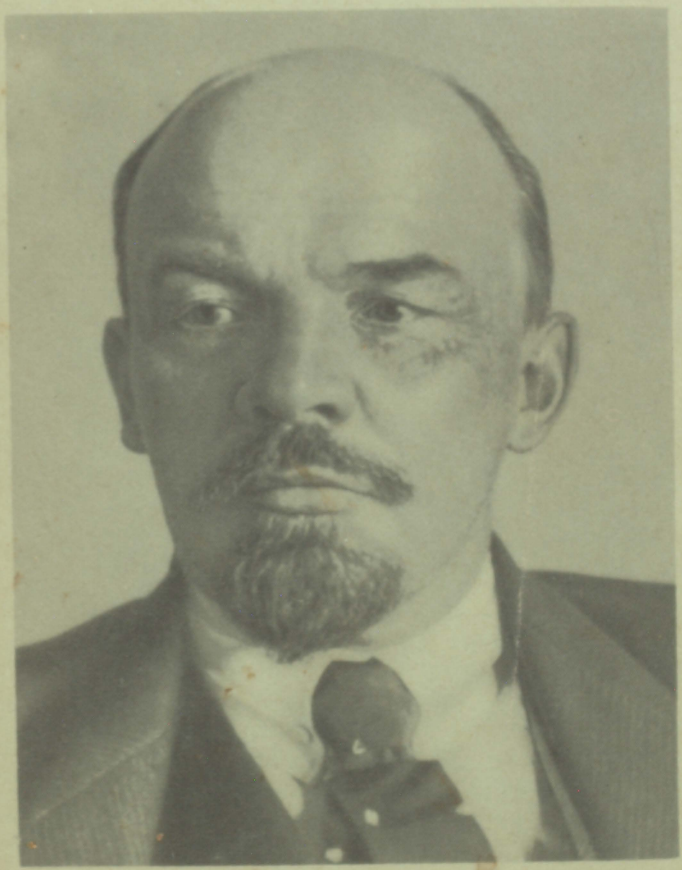
Lenin

ARTICLES ON TOLSTOI



Dayaker

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

V. I. Lenin

Articles on Tolstoi

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LEV TOLSTOI
AS THE MIRROR OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

To identify the great artist with the revolution which he has obviously failed to understand, and from which he obviously stands aloof, may at first sight seem strange and artificial. A mirror which does not reflect things correctly could hardly be called a mirror. Our revolution, however, is an extremely complicated thing. Among the mass of those who are directly making and participating in it there are many social elements which have also obviously not understood what is taking place and which also stand aloof from the real historical tasks with which the course of events has confronted them. And if we have before us a really great artist, he must have reflected in his work at least some of the essential aspects of the revolution.

The legal Russian press, though its pages teem with articles, letters and comments on Tolstoi's eightieth birthday, is least of all interested in analysing his works from the standpoint of the character of the Russian revolution and its motive forces. The whole of this press is steeped to nausea in hypocrisy, hypocrisy of a double kind: official and liberal. The former is the crude hypocrisy of the venal hack who was ordered yesterday to hound Lev Tolstoi, and today to show that Tolstoi is a patriot, and to try to observe the decencies before the eyes of Europe. That the hacks of this kind have been paid for their screeds is common knowledge and they cannot deceive anybody. Much more refined and, therefore, much more pernicious and dangerous is liberal hypocrisy. To listen to the Cadet Balalaikins[1] of *Rech,* one would think that their sympathy for Tolstoi is of the most complete and ardent kind. Actually, their calculated declamations and pompous phrases about the "great seeker after God" are false from beginning to end, for no Russian liberal believes in Tolstoi's God, or sympathises with Tolstoi's criticism of

the existing social order. He associates himself with a popular name in order to increase his political capital, in order to pose as a leader of the nation-wide opposition; he seeks, with the din and thunder of claptrap, to *drown* the demand for a straight and clear answer to the question: what are the glaring contradictions of "Tolstoi-ism" due to, and what shortcomings and weaknesses of our revolution do they express?

The contradictions of Tolstoi's works, views, doctrines, in his school, are indeed glaring. On the one hand, we have the great artist, the genius who has not only drawn incomparable pictures of Russian life but has made first-class contributions to world literature. On the other hand, we have the landlord obsessed with Christ. On the one hand, the remarkably powerful, forthright and sincere protest against social falsehood and hypocrisy; and on the other, the "Tolstoian", i.e., the jaded, hysterical sniveller called the Russian intellectual, who publicly beats his breast and wails: "I am a bad wicked man, but I am practising moral self-perfection: I don't eat meat any more, I now eat rice cutlets." On the one hand, merciless criticism of capitalist exploitation, exposure of government outrages, the farcical courts and the state administration, and unmasking of the profound contradictions between the growth of wealth and achievements of civilisation and the growth of poverty, degradation and misery among the working masses. On the other, the crackpot preaching of submission, "resist not evil" with violence. On the one hand, the most sober realism, the tearing away of all and sundry masks; on the other, the preaching of one of the most odious things on earth, namely, religion, the striving to replace officially appointed priests by priests who will serve from moral conviction, i.e., to cultivate the most refined and, therefore, particularly disgusting clericalism. Verily:

> *Thou art a pauper, yet thou art abundant,*
> *Thou art mighty, yet thou art impotent—*
> *Mother Russia!*[2]

That Tolstoi, owing to these contradictions, could not possibly understand either the working-class movement and its role in the struggle for socialism, or the Russian revolution, goes without saying. But the contradictions in Tolstoi's views and doctrines are not accidental; they express the contradic-

tory conditions of Russian life in the last third of the nineteenth century. The patriarchal countryside, only recently emancipated from serfdom, was literally given over to the capitalist and the tax-collector to be fleeced and plundered. The ancient foundations of peasant economy and peasant life, foundations that had really held for centuries, were broken up for scrap with extraordinary rapidity. And the contradictions in Tolstoi's views must be appraised not from the standpoint of the present-day working-class movement and present-day socialism (such an appraisal is, of course, needed, but it is not enough), but from the standpoint of protest against advancing capitalism, against the ruining of the masses, who are being dispossessed of their land—a protest which had to arise from the patriarchal Russian countryside. Tolstoi is absurd as a prophet who has discovered new nostrums for the salvation of mankind—and therefore the foreign and Russian "Tolstoians" who have sought to convert the weakest side of his doctrine into a dogma, are not worth speaking of. Tolstoi is great as the spokesman of the ideas and sentiments that emerged among the millions of Russian peasants at the time the bourgeois revolution was approaching in Russia. Tolstoi is original, because the sum total of his views, taken as a whole, happens to express the specific features of our revolution as a *peasant* bourgeois revolution. From this point of view, the contradictions in Tolstoi's views are indeed a mirror of those contradictory conditions in which the peasantry had to play their historical part in our revolution. On the one hand, centuries of feudal oppression and decades of accelerated post-Reform[3] pauperisation piled up mountains of hate, resentment, and desperate determination. The striving to sweep away completely the official church, the landlords and the landlord government, to destroy all the old forms and ways of landownership, to clear the land, to replace the police-class state by a community of free and equal small peasants—this striving is the keynote of every historical step the peasantry has taken in our revolution; and, undoubtedly, the message of Tolstoi's writings conforms to this peasant striving far more than it does to abstract "Christian Anarchism", as his "system" of views is sometimes appraised.

On the other hand, the peasantry, striving towards new ways of life, had a very crude, patriarchal, semi-religious idea of what kind of life this should be, by what struggle could

liberty be won, what leaders it could have in this struggle, what was the attitude of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia towards the interests of peasant revolution, why the forcible overthrow of tsarist rule was needed in order to abolish landlordism. The whole past life of the peasantry had taught it to hate the landowner and the official, but it did not, and could not, teach it where to seek an answer to all these questions. In our revolution a minor part of the peasantry really did fight, did organise to some extent for this purpose: and a very small part indeed rose up in arms to exterminate its enemies, to destroy the tsar's servants and protectors of the landlords. Most of the peasantry wept and prayed, moralised and dreamed, wrote petitions and sent "pleaders"—quite in the vein of Lev Tolstoi! And, as always happens in such cases, the effect of this Tolstoian abstention from politics, this Tolstoian renunciation of politics, this lack of interest in and understanding of politics, was that only a minority followed the lead of the class-conscious revolutionary proletariat, while the majority became the prey of those unprincipled, servile, bourgeois intellectuals who under the name of Cadets[4] hastened from a meeting of Trudoviks[5] to Stolypin's anteroom, and begged, haggled, reconciled and promised to reconcile—until they were kicked out with a military jackboot. Tolstoi's ideas are a mirror of the weakness, the shortcomings of our peasant revolt, a reflection of the flabbiness of the patriarchal countryside and of the hidebound cowardice of the "enterprising muzhik".

Take the soldiers' insurrections in 1905-06. In social composition these men who fought in our revolution were partly peasants and partly proletarians. The proletarians were in the minority; therefore the movement in the armed forces does not even approximately show the same nation-wide solidarity, the same party consciousness, as were displayed by the proletariat, which became Social-Democratic as if by the wave of a hand. Yet there is nothing more mistaken than the view that the insurrections in the armed forces failed because no officers had led them. On the contrary, the enormous progress the revolution had made since the time of the Narodnaya Volya[6] was shown precisely by the fact that the "grey herd" rose in arms against their superiors, and it was this self-dependency of theirs that so frightened the liberal landlords and the liberal officers. The common soldier fully sympathised

with the peasants' cause; his eyes lit up at the very mention of land. There was more than one case when authority in the armed forces passed to the mass of the rank and file, but determined use of this authority was hardly made at all; the soldiers wavered; after a couple of days, in some cases a few hours, after killing some hated officer, they released the others who had been arrested, parleyed with the authorities and then faced the firing squad, or bared their backs for the birch, or put on the yoke again—quite in the vein of Lev Tolstoi!

Tolstoi reflected the pent-up hatred, the ripened striving for a better lot, the desire to get rid of the past—and also the immature dreaming, the political inexperience, the revolutionary flabbiness. Historical and economic conditions explain both the inevitable beginning of the revolutionary struggle of the masses and their unpreparedness for the struggle, their Tolstoian non-resistance to evil, which was a most serious cause of the defeat of the first revolutionary campaign.

It is said that beaten armies learn well. Of course, revolutionary classes can be compared with armies only in a very limited sense. The development of capitalism is hourly changing and intensifying the conditions which roused the millions of peasants—united by their hatred for the feudalist landlords and their government—for the revolutionary-democratic struggle. Among the peasantry themselves the growth of exchange, of the rule of the market and the power of money is steadily ousting old-fashioned partriarchalism and the patriarchal Tolstoian ideology. But there is one gain from the first years of the revolution and the first reverses in mass revolutionary struggle about which there can be no doubt. It is the mortal blow struck at the former softness and flabbiness of the masses. The lines of demarcation have become more distinct. The cleavage of classes and parties has taken place. Under the hammer blows of the lessons taught by Stolypin, and with undeviating and consistent agitation by the revolutionary Social-Democrats not only the socialist proletariat but also the democratic masses of the peasantry will inevitably advance from their midst more and more steeled fighters who will be less capable of falling into our historical sin of Tolstoi-ism!

Proletary No. 35,
September 11 (24), 1908

Vol. 15, pp. 202-209

L. N. TOLSTOI

Lev Tolstoi is dead. His universal significance as an artist and his universal fame as a thinker and preacher reflect, each in its own way, the universal significance of the Russian revolution.

L. N. Tolstoi emerged as a great artist when serfdom still held sway in the land. In a series of great works, which he produced during the more than half a century of his literary activity, he depicted mainly the old, pre-revolutionary Russia which remained in a state of semi-serfdom even after 1861—rural Russia of the landlord and the peasant. In depicting this period in Russia's history, Tolstoi succeeded in raising so many great problems and succeeded in rising to such heights of artistic power that his works rank among the greatest in world literature. The epoch of preparation for revolution in one of the countries under the heel of the serf-owners became, thanks to its brilliant illumination by Tolstoi, a step forward in the artistic development of humanity as a whole.

Tolstoi the artist is known to an infinitesimal minority even in Russia. If his great works are really to be made the possession of *all*, a struggle must be waged against the system of society which condemns millions and scores of millions to ignorance, benightedness, drudgery and poverty—a socialist revolution must be accomplished.

Tolstoi not only produced artistic works which will always be appreciated and read by the masses, once they have created human conditions of life for themselves after overthrowing the yoke of the landlords and capitalists; he succeeded in conveying with remarkable force the moods of the large masses that are oppressed by the present system, in depict-

ing their condition and expressing their spontaneous feelings of protest and anger. Belonging, as he did, primarily to the era of 1861-1904, Tolstoi in his works–both as an artist and as a thinker and preacher–embodied in amazingly bold relief the specific historical features of the entire first Russian revolution, its strength and its weakness.

One of the principal distinguishing features of our revolution is that it was a *peasant* bourgeois revolution in the era of the very advanced development of capitalism throughout the world and of its comparatively advanced development in Russia. It was a bourgeois revolution because its immediate aim was to overthrow the tsarist autocracy, the tsarist monarchy, and to abolish landlordism, but not to overthrow the domination of the bourgeoisie. The peasantry in particular was not aware of the latter aim, it was not aware of the distinction between this aim and the closer and more immediate aims of the struggle. It was a peasant bourgeois revolution because the objective conditions put in the forefront the problem of changing the basic conditions of life for the peasantry, of breaking up the old, medieval system of landownership, of "clearing the ground" for capitalism; the objective conditions were responsible for the appearance of the peasant masses on the arena of more or less independent historic action.

Tolstoi's works express both the strength and the weakness, the might and the limitations, precisely of the peasant mass movement. His heated, passionate, and often ruthlessly sharp protest against the state and the official church that was in alliance with the police conveys the sentiments of the primitive peasant democratic masses, among whom centuries of serfdom, of official tyranny and robbery, and of church Jesuitism, deception and chicanery had piled up mountains of anger and hatred. His unbending opposition to private property in land conveys the psychology of the peasant masses during that historical period in which the old, medieval landownership, both in the form of landed estates and in the form of state "allotments", definitely became an intolerable obstacle to the further development of the country, and when this old landownership was inevitably bound to be destroyed most summarily and ruthlessly. His unremitting accusations against capitalism–accusations permeated with most profound emotion and most ardent

indignation—convey all the horror felt by the patriarchal peasant at the advent of the new, invisible, incomprehensible enemy coming from somewhere in the cities, or from somewhere abroad, destroying all the "pillars" of rural life, bringing in its train unprecedented ruin, poverty, starvation, savagery, prostitution, syphilis—all the calamities attending the "epoch of primitive accumulation", aggravated a hundredfold by the transplantation into Russian soil of the most modern methods of plunder elaborated by the all powerful Monsieur Coupon.[7]

But the vehement protestant, the passionate accuser, the great critic at the same time manifested in his works a failure to understand the causes of the crisis threatening Russia, and the means of escape from it, that was characteristic only of a patriarchal, naïve peasant, but not of a writer with a European education. His struggle against the feudal police state, against the monarchy turned into a repudiation of politics, led to the doctrine of "non-resistance to evil", and to complete aloofness from the revolutionary struggle of the masses in 1905-07. The fight against the official church was combined with the preaching of a new, purified religion, that is to say, of a new, refined, subtle poison for the oppressed masses. The opposition to private property in land did not lead to concentrating the struggle against the real enemy—landlordism and its political instrument of power, i.e., the monarchy—but led to dreamy, diffuse and impotent lamentations. The exposure of capitalism and of the calamities it inflicts on the masses was combined with a wholly apathetic attitude to the world-wide struggle for emancipation waged by the international socialist proletariat.

The contradictions in Tolstoi's views are not contradictions inherent in his personal views alone, but are a reflection of the extremely complex, contradictory conditions, social influences and historical traditions which determined the psychology of various classes and various sections of Russian society in the *post*-Reform, but *pre*-revolutionary era.

That is why a correct appraisal of Tolstoi can be made only from the viewpoint of the class which has proved, by its political role and its struggle during the first denouement of these contradictions, at a time of revolution, that it is destined to be the leader in the struggle for the people's liberty and for the emancipation of the masses from exploi-

tation—the class which has proved its selfless devotion to the cause of democracy and its ability to fight against the limitations and inconsistency of bourgeois (including peasant) democracy; such an appraisal is possible only from the viewpoint of the Social-Democratic proletariat.

Look at the estimate of Tolstoi in the government newspapers. They shed crocodile tears, professing their respect for "the great writer" and at the same time defending the "Holy" Synod. As for the holy fathers, they have just perpetrated a particularly vile iniquity: they sent priests to the dying man in order to hoodwink the people and say that Tolstoi had "repented". The Holy Synod excommunicated Tolstoi. So much the better. It will be reminded of this exploit when the hour comes for the people to settle accounts with the officials in cassocks, the gendarmes in Christ, the sinister inquisitors who supported anti-Jewish pogroms and other exploits of the Black-Hundred tsarist gang.

Look at the estimate of Tolstoi in the liberal newspapers. They confine themselves to those hollow, official-liberal, hackneyed professorial phrases about the "voice of civilised mankind", "the unanimous response of the world", the "ideas of truth, good", etc., for which Tolstoi so castigated—and justly castigated—bourgeois science. They *cannot* voice plainly and clearly their opinion of Tolstoi's views on the state, the church, private property in land, capitalism—not because they are prevented by the censorship; on the contrary, the censorship is helping them out of an embarrassing position!—but because each proposition in Tolstoi's criticism is a slap in the face of bourgeois liberalism; because the very way in which Tolstoi fearlessly, frankly and ruthlessly *poses* the sorest and most vexatious problems of our day is a *rebuff* to the commonplace phrases, trite quirks and evasive, "civilised" falsehoods of our liberal (and liberal-Narodnik) publicists. The liberals are all for Tolstoi, they are all against the Synod—and, at the same time, they are for ... the Vekhists,[8] with whom "it is possible to disagree", but with whom it is "necessary" to live in harmony in one party, with whom it is "necessary" to work together in literature and politics. And yet the Vekhists are greeted with kisses by Anthony, Bishop of Volhynia.[9]

The liberals put in the forefront that Tolstoi is "the great conscience". Is not this a hollow phrase which is repeated in

a thousand variations both by *Novoye Vremya*[10] and by all such newspapers? Is this not an evasion of the *concrete* problems of democracy and socialism which Tolstoi *posed?* Is this not to put in the forefront the future that expresses Tolstoi's prejudice, not his intellect, the part of him that belongs to the past and not to the future, his repudiation of politics and his preaching of moral self-perfection, but not his vehement protest against all class domination?

Tolstoi is dead, and the pre-revolutionary Russia whose weakness and impotence found their expression in the philosophy and are depicted in the works of the great artist, has become a thing of the past. But the heritage which he has left includes that which has not become a thing of the past, but belongs to the future. This heritage is accepted and is being worked upon by the Russian proletariat. The Russian proletariat will explain to the masses of the toilers and the exploited the meaning of Tolstoi's criticism of the state, the church, private property in land—not in order that the masses should confine themselves to self-perfection and yearning for a godly life, but in order that they should rise to strike a new blow at the tsarist monarchy and landlordism, which were but slightly damaged in 1905, and which must be destroyed. The Russian proletariat will explain to the masses Tolstoi's criticism of capitalism—not in order that the masses should confine themselves to hurling imprecations at capital and the rule of money, but in order that they should learn to utilise at every step in their life and in their struggle the technical and social achievements of capitalism, that they should learn to weld themselves into a united army of millions of socialist fighters who will overthrow capitalism and create a new society in which the people will not be doomed to poverty, in which there will be no exploitation of man by man.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 18,
November 16 (29), 1910

Vol. 16, pp. 323-327

IS THIS THE TURN OF THE TIDE?

The present issue was already set up when we received the St. Petersburg and Moscow newspapers of November 12. However inadequate the information supplied by the legal press, it is evident beyond doubt that in a number of cities there have been students' meetings, demonstrations and street processions with protests against capital punishment and with speeches against the government. The St. Petersburg demonstration of November 11, even according to the information of the quite Octobrist-minded *Russkiye Vedomosti*,[11] drew a gathering of *not less than 10,000 people* on the Nevsky. The same newspaper reports that on the St.Petersburg side "large numbers of workers joined the procession as it passed the People's House. At Tuchkov Bridge the procession came to a halt. The police were quite powerless to stop the procession and the crowd proceeded with songs and flags to the Bolshoi Prospekt on Vasilyevsky Ostrov. Only at the university did the police manage to disperse the crowd".

The police and the troops, of course, behaved in the true-blue Russian way.

While we shall postpone to the next issue our appraisal of this unmistakably democratic upsurge, we cannot abstain from saying a few words about the attitude of the various parties to the demonstration. *Russkiye Vedomosti*, which on the 11th published a *false* report that the demonstration had been called off, reported on the 12th that the Social-Democrats had adopted no decision, while some of their deputies had even expressed their disapproval, and only the Trudoviks in the resolution they adopted considered it impossible to hinder the demonstration. We have no doubt that this

report which is so discreditable to our Social-Democratic deputies, is false; in all probability it is just as much a malicious invention of *Russkiye Vedomosti* as their report of the day before that the demonstration had been called off. *Golos Moskvy*[12] reported on the 12th that "with the exception of the Social-Democrats the deputies of all parties disapprove of the students coming out on the streets".

It is clear that the Cadet and Octobrist newspapers are very widely "swerving from the truth", intimidated by the utterly absurd and ludicrous cries from the Right that "the springs preparing the demonstration are being manipulated from the Taurida Palace"[13].

That the Cadets behaved in an unworthy manner is a fact. On the 11th, the day of the demonstration, *Rech* published a manifesto of the Cadet deputies calling for the demonstration not to be held. The reasons urged both in the manifesto and in *Rech*'s leading article are truly infamous: "not to cast a shadow over" the days of mourning! "to hold manifestations, to associate them with the memory of Tolstoi" is to display "a lack of sincere affection for his sacred memory"!! and so on, in a purely Octobrist spirit (compare the leading article in *Golos Moskvy* on the 11th, with almost identical phrases).

Fortunately the vile spoke thrust in the wheel of democracy by the Cadets had no effect. The demonstration was held just the same. And if the police news-sheet *Rossiya* continues to blame the Cadets for everything, even contriving to detect a note of "incitement" in their manifesto, in the Duma, according to *Golos Moskvy*, the Octobrists and the extreme Rights (Shulgin) appreciated the *service* rendered by the Cadets, recognising that they were "opposed to the demonstration".

If there is anyone who has not learned from the entire course of the Russian revolution that the cause of the movement for emancipation in Russia is *hopeless* as long as it is led by the Cadets, as long as he is unable to safeguard himself from the treachery of the Cadets, let him study and learn from the facts of contemporary politics the history of the demonstration of November 11.

At the first sign of a democratic revival the Cadets begin their dirty games again.

We note also a report in *Golos Moskvy* that the workers approached the students with a view to holding a grand demonstration on the 14th. There is probably some truth in it, for today (November 15 [28]) the Paris papers report the arrest in St. Petersburg of 13 members of the bureau of trade unions for an *attempt* to organise a workers' demonstration.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 18,
November 16 (29), 1910

Vol. 16, pp. 320-322

L. N. TOLSTOI AND THE MODERN LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Russian workers in practically all the large cities of Russia have already made their response in connection with the death of L. N. Tolstoi and, in one way or another, expressed their attitude to the writer who produced a number of most remarkable works of art that put him in the ranks of the great writers of the world, and to the thinker who with immense power, self-confidence and sincerity *raised* a number of questions concerning the basic features of the modern political and social system. All in all, this attitude was expressed in the telegram, printed in the newspapers, which was sent by the labour deputies in the Third Duma.[14]

L. Tolstoi began his literary career when serfdom still existed but at a time when it had already obviously come to the end of its days. Tolstoi's main activity falls in that period of Russian history which lies between two of its turning-points, 1861 and 1905. Throughout this period traces of serfdom, direct survivals of it, permeated the whole economic (particularly in the countryside) and political life of the country. And at the same time this was a period of the accelerated growth of capitalism from below and its implantation from above.

In what were the survivals of serfdom expressed? Most of all and clearest of all is the fact that in Russia, mainly an agricultural country, agriculture at that time was in the hands of a ruined, impoverished peasantry who were working with antiquated, primitive methods on the old feudal allotments which had been cut in 1861 for the benefit of the landlords. And, on the other hand, agriculture was in the hands

of the landlords who in Central Russia cultivated the land by the labour, the wooden ploughs, and the horses of the peasants in return for the "cut-off lands", meadows, access to watering-places, etc. To all intents and purposes this was the old feudal system of economy. Throughout this period the political system of Russia was also permeated with feudalism. This is evident from the constitution of the state prior to the first moves to change it in 1905, from the predominant influence of the landed nobility on state affairs and from the unlimited power of the officials, who also for the most part—especially the higher ranks—came from the landed nobility.

After 1861 this old patriarchal Russia began rapidly to disintegrate under the influence of world capitalism. The peasants were starving, dying off, being ruined as never before, fleeing to the towns and abandoning the soil. There was a boom in the construction of railways, mills and factories, thanks to the "cheap labour" of the ruined peasants. Big finance capital was developing in Russia together with large-scale commerce and industry.

It was this rapid, painful, drastic demolition of all the old "pillars" of old Russia that was reflected in the works of Tolstoi the artist, and in the views of Tolstoi the thinker.

Tolstoi had a surpassing knowledge of rural Russia, the mode of life of the landlords and peasants. In his artistic productions he gave descriptions of this life that are numbered among the best productions of world literature. The drastic demolition of all the "old pillars" of rural Russia sharpened his attention, deepened his interest in what was going on around him, and led to a radical change in his whole world outlook. By birth and education Tolstoi belonged to the highest landed nobility in Russia—he broke with all the customary views of this environment and in his later works attacked with fierce criticism all the contemporary state, church, social and economic institutions which were based on enslavement of the masses, on their poverty, on the ruin of the peasants and the petty proprietors in general, on the coercion and hypocrisy which permeated all contemporary life from top to bottom.

Tolstoi's criticism was not new. He said nothing that had not been said long before him both in European and in Russian literature by friends of the working people. But the uniqueness of Tolstoi's criticism and its historical significance

lie in the fact that it expressed, with a power such as is possessed only by artists of genius, the radical change in the views of the broadest masses of the people in the Russia of this period, namely, rural, peasant Russia. For Tolstoi's criticism of contemporary institutions differs from the criticism of the same institutions by representatives of the modern labour movement in the fact that Tolstoi's point of view was that of the patriarchal, naïve peasant, whose psychology Tolstoi introduced into his criticism and his doctrine. Tolstoi's criticism is marked by such emotional power, such passion, convincingness, freshness, sincerity and fearlessness in striving to "go to the roots", to find the real cause of the afflictions of the masses, just because this criticism really expresses a sharp change in the ideas of millions of peasants, who had only just emerged from feudalism into freedom, and saw that this freedom meant new horrors of ruin, death from starvation, a homeless life among the lower strata of the city population, and so on and so forth. Tolstoi mirrored their sentiments so faithfully that he imported their naïveté into his own doctrine, their alienation from political life, their mysticism, their desire to keep aloof from the world, "non-resistance to evil", their impotent imprecations against capitalism and the "power of money". The protest of millions of peasants and their desperation—these were combined in Tolstoi's doctrine.

The representatives of the modern labour movement find that they have plenty to protest against but nothing to despair about. Despair is typical of the classes which are perishing, but the class of wage-workers is growing inevitably, developing and becoming strong in every capitalist society, Russia included. Despair is typical of those who do not understand the causes of evil, see no way out, and are incapable of struggle. The modern industrial proletariat does not belong to the category of such classes.

Nash Put No. 7,
November 28, 1910
Signed: *V. I-in*

Vol. 16, pp. 330-332

TOLSTOI AND THE PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE

Tolstoi's indictment of the ruling classes was made with tremendous power and sincerity; with absolute clearness he laid bare the inner falsity of all those institutions by which modern society is maintained: the church, the law courts, militarism, "lawful" wedlock, bourgeois science. But his doctrine proved to be in complete contradiction to the life, work and struggle of the grave-digger of the modern social system, the proletariat. Whose then was the point of view reflected in the teachings of Lev Tolstoi? Through his lips there spoke that multitudinous mass of the Russian people who *already* detest the masters of modern life but have not *yet* advanced to the point of intelligent, consistent, thoroughgoing, implacable struggle against them.

The history and the outcome of the great Russian revolution have shown that such precisely was the mass that found itself *between* the class-conscious, socialist proletariat and the out-and-out defenders of the old regime. This mass, consisting mainly of the peasantry, showed in the revolution how great was its hatred of the old, how keenly it felt all the inflictions of the modern regime, how great within it was the spontaneous yearning to be rid of them and to find a better life.

At the same time, however, this mass showed in the revolution that it was not politically conscious enough in its hatred, that it was not consistent in its struggle and that its quest for a better life was confined within narrow bounds.

This great human ocean, agitated to its very depths, with all its weaknesses and all its strong features found its reflection in the doctrine of Tolstoi.

By studying the literary works of Lev Tolstoi the Russian working class will learn to know its enemies better, but in examining the *doctrine* of Tolstoi, the whole Russian people will have to understand where their own weakness lies, the weakness which did not allow them to carry the cause of their emancipation to its conclusion. This must be understood in order to go forward.

This advance is impeded by all those who declare Tolstoi a "universal conscience", a "teacher of life". This is a lie that the liberals are deliberately spreading in their desire to utilise the anti-revolutionary aspect of Tolstoi's doctrine. This lie about Tolstoi as a "teacher of life" is being repeated after the liberals by some former Social-Democrats.

The Russian people will secure their emancipation only when they realise that it is not from Tolstoi they must learn to win a better life but from the class the significance of which Tolstoi did not understand, and which alone is capable of destroying the old world which Tolstoi hated. That class is the proletariat.

Rabochaya Gazeta No. 2,
December 18 (31), 1910

Vol. 16, pp. 353-354

HEROES OF "RESERVATION"

The tenth issue of *Nasha Zarya*,[15] the magazine of Mr. Potresov and Co., which we have just received, provides striking examples of carelessness or, rather, unprincipledness in the evaluation of Lev Tolstoi, which need to be dealt with at once, if only in brief.

Here is an article by V. Bazarov, a new warrior in Potresov's ranks. The editors are not in agreement with "certain propositions" in this article, without, of course, mentioning which propositions they are. That is so much more convenient for covering up confusion! As for ourselves, we find it difficult to point out any propositions in this article that would not arouse the indignation of anyone who has the least bit of regard for Marxism. "Our intelligentsia," V. Bazarov writes, "beaten and dispirited, turned into a sort of amorphous mental and moral slough, and now at the extreme limit of spiritual demoralisation, has unanimously accepted Tolstoi–the *whole* of Tolstoi–as its conscience." That is not true. It is mere phrase-mongering. Our intelligentsia in general, and particularly that of *Nasha Zarya*, certainly looks very "dispirited", but it neither did nor could display any "unanimity" in its appraisal of Tolstoi, and it never did or could appraise correctly the *whole* of Tolstoi. It is precisely the absence of unanimity that is concealed behind the utterly hypocritical talk about "conscience", a catchword fully worthy of *Novoye Vremya*. Bazarov does not fight the "slough"–he encourages the slough.

Bazarov "would like to recall certain instances of injustice [!!] with regard to Tolstoi, of which the Russian intellectuals in general, and we radicals of various persuasions in particular, are guilty". The only thing that is true in this

statement is that Bazarov, Potresov and Co. are indeed "radicals of various persuasions", dependent on the universal "slough" to such an extent that, at a time when the fundamental inconsistencies and weaknesses of Tolstoi's world outlook are being hushed up in the most unpardonable fashion, they rush after "everybody" in a challenging fashion, yelling about "injustice" to Tolstoi. They do not want to yield to the intoxication of "that narcotic particularly widespread among us, which Tolstoi describes as 'the virulence of controversy' ". This is the very kind of talk, the kind of tune, that suits the philistines, who turn their backs with supreme contempt on a controversy over principles that are defended consistently and in full.

"The main power of Tolstoi lies in the fact that, having passed through all the stages of demoralisation typical of modern educated men, he succeeded in finding a synthesis...." That is not true. The very thing that Tolstoi did not succeed in finding, or rather could not find, either in the philosophical foundations of his world outlook or in his social-political doctrine, is a synthesis. "Tolstoi was the first [!] to objectivise, i.e., to create not only for himself but for others as well, that *genuinely human* [Bazarov's own italics throughout] religion, of which Comte, Feuerbach, and other representatives of modern culture could only dream subjectively [!]," etc. etc.

This kind of talk is worse than common philistinism. It is an attempt to adorn the "slough" with spurious flowers, capable only of deluding people. More than half a century ago Feuerbach, unable to "find a synthesis" in his world outlook, which represented in many respects "the last word" of German classical philosophy, became embroiled in those "subjective dreams", the negative role of which has long since been appraised by the really progressive "representatives of modern culture". To declare now that Tolstoi "was the first to objectivise" these "subjective dreams" is to join the camp of the retrograde, to flatter the philistines, to echo the Vekhists.

Bazarov writes:

"It goes without saying that the movement [!?] founded by Tolstoi must undergo a profound change if it is really destined to play a great world-wide historic role: the idealisation of the patriarchal-peasant mode of life, the attraction towards a natural economy, and

many other utopian features of Tolstoi-ism, which loom large [!] at the present time and seem to be its most essential features, are actually nothing but subjective elements not necessarily connected with the basis of Tolstoi's 'religion'."

So it turns out that Tolstoi "objectivised" Feuerbach's "subjective dreams", whereas that which Tolstoi reflected both in his brilliant literary works and in his extremely contradictory doctrine, namely, the special economic features of Russia of the past century, noted by Bazarov, are "nothing but subjective elements" of his doctrine. That is what is called being wide of the mark. But then, there is nothing the "intelligentsia, beaten and dispirited" (etc., as quoted above), enjoys, desires and likes more, there is nothing that humours its dispiritedness more than this exalting of Feuerbach's "subjective dreams" which Tolstoi "objectivised", and this *diversion* of attention from the concrete historical, economic and political problems "which loom large at the present time"!

It is obvious that Bazarov is particularly displeased with the "sharp criticism" which the doctrine of non-resistance to evil evoked among the "radical intelligentsia". To Bazarov it is "clear that there is no reason to speak here of passivity and quietism". By way of explaining his thought, Bazarov refers to the well-known tale of "Ivan the Fool" and suggests that the reader "imagine that it is not the Tarakan (Cockroach) tsar who sends soldiers against the Fools, but their own ruler Ivan, now become wise; and that Ivan wants to use these soldiers, whom he recruited from the ranks of the Fools themselves and who are therefore akin to the latter by their entire way of thinking, in order to compel his subjects to comply with some unrighteous demands. It is quite obvious that the Fools, practically unarmed and unfamiliar with military formation, cannot even dream of gaining a physical victory over Ivan's troops. Even if they resort to the most vigorous 'resistance by force', the Fools cannot defeat Ivan physically, but only by means of moral influence, i.e., only by means of the so-called 'demoralisation' of Ivan's troops...." "The Fools' resistance by force achieves the same result (only worse and at the cost of great sacrifice) as resistance without force...." "Non-resistance to evil with force or, to use a more general term, harmony of means and ends [!!!] is an idea that is by no means characteristic only of

moral preachers who live secluded from society. This idea is an essential component part of every integral world outlook."

Such are the arguments of the new warrior in Potresov's ranks. We cannot stop to analyse them here. It is perhaps sufficient–on this first occasion–just to reproduce his main argument and to add five words: Vekhism of the purest water.

From the final chords of the cantata on the theme that ears do not grow above one's head: "There is no need to describe our weakness as strength, as superiority over Tolstoi's 'quietism' and 'narrow rationalism' [and over the inconsistency of his reasoning?]. We should not say that, not only because it is at variance with the truth, but also because it hinders us from learning from the greatest man of our times."

Well, well. But, then. there is nc reason why you should be getting angry, gentlemen, and answer with ridiculous bravado and abuse (as Mr. Potresov did in Nos. 8-9 of *Nasha Zarya*) if people like Izgoyev bless, praise and kiss you. Neither the old nor the new warriors in Potresov's ranks can cleanse themselves of these kisses.

The general staff of this host provided Bazarov's article with a "diplomatic" reservation. But the leading article by Mr. Nevedomsky, printed without any reservations, is not much better. "While he absorbed," writes this bard of the present-day intelligentsia, "and embodied in a consummate form the fundamental aspirations and strivings of the great epoch of the fall of slavery in Russia, Lev Tolstoi proved to be also the purest and most consummate embodiment of the ideological principle of humanity in general–*the principle of conscience.*"

Boom, boom, boom.... While he absorbed and embodied in a consummate form the fundamental manner of declamation characteristic of liberal-bourgeois journalism, Mr. Nevedomsky proved to be also the purest and most consummate embodiment of the ideological principle of humanity in general–the principle of rant.

One more–and final–statement:

"All those European admirers of Tolstoi, all those Anatole Frances by whatever name they are called, and the Chambers of Deputies, which recently voted by an enormous majority against the abolition of capital punishment and today pay homage to the great *integral*

man—the whole of that kingdom of intermediateness, half-heartedness, reservationism—compared with them, how magnificent, how powerful towers the figure, cast of a single pure metal, of Tolstoi, that living embodiment of an integral principle."

Phew! What eloquence—and not a word of truth. The figure of Tolstoi is cast neither of a single nor a pure metal, nor of metal at all. And it is *precisely* not for his "integrality", but for his deviation from integrality, that "all those" bourgeois admirers "pay homage" to his memory.

There is only one apt word that Mr. Nevedomsky blurted out inadvertently. That is the word "reservationism", which fits the gentlemen of *Nasha Zarya* just as perfectly as V. Bazarov's above-quoted characterisation of the intelligentsia fits *them*. Throughout it is heroes of "reservation" that confront us. Potresov makes the reservation that he is not in agreement with the Machists, although he defends them. The editors make the reservation that they are not in agreement with "certain propositions" of Bazarov's, although it is obvious to everyone that it is not a question here of certain propositions. Potresov makes the reservation that he has been slandered by Izgoyev. Martov makes the reservation that he is not entirely in agreement with Potresov and Levitsky, although they are the very people whom he renders faithful political service. All of them make the reservation that they are not in agreement with Cherevanin, although they approve more of his *second* liquidationist pamphlet, in which the "spirit" of his first brain-child is greatly increased. Cherevanin makes the reservation that he is not in agreement with Maslov. Maslov makes the reservation that he is not in agreement with Kautsky.

The only thing they all agree on is that they are not in agreement with Plekhanov, and that he slanders them by accusing them of liquidationism, while himself being allegedly unable to explain his present rapprochement with his former opponents.

There is nothing simpler than the explanation of this rapprochement, which is only inexplicable to people with reservations. When we had a locomotive we differed very strongly on the question as to whether the power of that locomotive, the stock of fuel, etc., warranted a speed of, let us say, 25 or 50 miles an hour. The controversy over this question, as over any question which stirs the opponents

deeply, was conducted with passion and often with bitterness. That controversy—and this refers to absolutely every question over which it arose—was carried on in the open, in full view of everyone, it was thoroughly thrashed out, without being glossed over by any "reservations". And none of us ever thought of retracting anything or of whining over the "virulence of the controversy". But today, when the locomotive has broken down, when it is lying in a bog, surrounded by "reservationist" intellectuals who sneeringly declare that there is "nothing to liquidate" because there is no longer any locomotive in existence, we, the "virulent controversionalists" of yesterday, are drawn closer together by our common cause. Without renouncing anything, without forgetting anything, without making any promises about setting aside differences, we are working together for the common cause. We are devoting all our attention and all our efforts to raise the locomotive, to renovate, strengthen and reinforce it, to put it on the rails—as to its speed, or which way to turn one switch or another, we shall discuss that in due time. In these difficult days the immediate task is to create something that will be capable of giving a rebuff to the people "with reservations" and the "dispirited intellectuals", who directly or indirectly promote the prevailing "slough". The immediate task is to dig—even under the most difficult conditions—for ore, to extract iron, and to cast the steel of the Marxist world outlook and of the superstructures corresponding to this world outlook.

Mysl No. 1;
December 1910
Signed: *V. I.*

Vol. 16, pp. 368-373

LEV TOLSTOI AND HIS EPOCH

The epoch to which Lev Tolstoi belongs and which is reflected in such bold relief both in his brilliant literary works and in his teachings began after 1861 and lasted until 1905. True, Tolstoi commenced his literary career earlier and it ended later, but it was during this period, whose transitional nature gave rise to *all* the distinguishing features of Tolstoi's works and of Tolstoi-ism, that he fully matured both as an artist and as a thinker.

Through Levin, a character in *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoi very vividly expressed the nature of the turn in Russia's history that took place during this half-century.

"Talk about the harvest, hiring labourers, and so forth, which, as Levin knew, it was the custom to regard as something very low, ... now seemed to Levin to be the only important thing. 'This, perhaps, was unimportant under serfdom, or is unimportant in England. In both cases the conditions are definite; but here today, when everything has been turned upside down and is only just taking shape again, the question of how these conditions will shape is the only important question in Russia,' mused Levin." (*Collected Works*, Vol. X, p. 137.)

"Here in Russia everything has now been turned upside down and is only just taking shape",–it is difficult to imagine a more apt characterisation of the period 1861-1905. What "was turned upside down" is familiar, or at least well known, to every Russian. It was serfdom, and the whole of the "old order" that went with it. What "is just taking shape" is totally unknown, alien and incomprehensible to the broad masses of the population. Tolstoi conceived this bourgeois order which was "only just taking shape" vaguely, in the form of a bogey–England. Truly, a bogey, because Tolstoi rejects, on principle, so to speak, any attempt to investigate the features of the social system in this "England", the connection between this system and the domination of capital, the role played by money, the rise and development of exchange. Like the Narodniks, he refuses to see, he shuts his

eyes to, and dimisses the thought that what is "taking shape" in Russia is none other than the bourgeois system.

It is true that, if not the "only important" question, then certainly one of the most important from the standpoint of the immediate tasks of all social and political activities in Russia in the period of 1861-1905 (and in our times, too), was that of "what shape" this system would take, this bourgeois system that had assumed extremely varied forms in "England", Germany, America, France, and so forth. But such a definite, concretely historical presentation of the question was something absolutely foreign to Tolstoi. He reasons in the abstract, he recognises only the standpoint of the "eternal" principles of morality, the eternal truths of religion, failing to realise that his standpoint is merely the ideological reflection of the old ("turned upside down") order, the feudal order, the way of life of the Oriental peoples.

In *Lucerne* (written in 1857), Tolstoi declares that to regard "civilisation" as a boon is an "imaginary concept" which "destroys in human nature the instinctive, most blissful primitive need for good". "We have only one infallible guide," exclaims Tolstoi, "the Universal Spirit that permeates us." (*Collected Works*, II, p. 125).

In *The Slavery of Our Times* (written in 1900), Tolstoi, repeating still more zealously these appeals to the Universal Spirit, declares that political economy is a "pseudo science" because it takes as the "pattern" "little England, where conditions are most exceptional", instead of taking as a pattern "the conditions of men in the whole world throughout the whole of history". What this "whole world" is like is revealed to us in the article "Progress and the Definition of Education" (1862). Tolstoi counters the opinion of the "historians" that progress is "a general law for mankind" by referring to "the whole of what is known as the Orient" (IV, 162). "There is no general law of human progress," says Tolstoi, "and this is proved by the quiescence of the Oriental peoples."

Tolstoi-ism, in its real historical content, is an ideology of an Oriental, an Asiatic order. Hence the asceticism, the non-resistance to evil, the profound notes of pessimism, the conviction that "everything is nothing, everything is a material nothing" ("The Meaning of Life", p. 52), and faith in the "Spirit", in "the beginning of everything", and that man, in his relation to this beginning, is merely a "labourer ... allot-

ted the task of saving his own soul", etc. Tolstoi is true to this ideology in his *Kreutzer Sonata* too when he says: "the emancipation of woman lies not in colleges and not in parliaments, but in the bedroom", and in the article written in 1862, in which he says that universities train only "irritable, debilitated liberals" for whom "the people have no use at all", who are "uselessly torn from their former environment", "find no place in life", and so forth (IV, 136-37).

Pessimism, non-resistance, appeals to the "Spirit" constitute an ideology inevitable in an epoch when the whole of the old order "has been turned upside down", and when the masses, who have been brought up under this old order, who imbibed with their mother's milk the principles, the habits, the traditions and beliefs of this order, do not and cannot see *what kind* of a new order is "taking shape", *what* social forces are "shaping" it and how, what social forces are *capable* of bringing release from the incalculable and exceptionally acute distress that is characteristic of epochs of "upheaval".

The period of 1862-1904 was just such a period of upheaval in Russia, a period in which, before everyone's eyes, the old order collapsed, never to be restored, in which the new system was only just taking shape; the social forces shaping the new system first manifested themselves on a broad, nation-wide scale, in mass public action in the most varied fields only in 1905. And the 1905 events in Russia were followed by analogous events in a number of countries in that very "Orient" to the "quiescence" of which Tolstoi referred in 1862. The year 1905 marked the beginning of the end of "Oriental" quiescence. Precisely for this reason that year marked the historical end of Tolstoi-ism, the end of an epoch that could give rise to Tolstoi's teachings and in which they were inevitable, not as something individual, not as a caprice or a fad, but as the ideology of the conditions of life under which millions and millions actually found themselves for a certain period of time.

Tolstoi's doctrine is certainly utopian and in content is reactionary in the most precise and most profound sense of the word. But that certainly does not mean that the doctrine was not socialistic or that it did not contain critical elements capable of providing valuable material for the enlightenment of the advanced classes.

There are various kinds of socialism. In all countries where the capitalist mode of production prevails there is the socialism which expresses the ideology of the class that is going to take the place of the bourgeoisie; and there is the socialism that expresses the ideology of the classes that are going to be replaced by the bourgeoisie. Feudal socialism, for example, is socialism of the latter type, and the nature of *this* socialism was appraised long ago, over sixty years ago, by Marx, simultaneously with his appraisal of other types of socialism.[16]

Furthermore, critical elements are inherent in Tolstoi's utopian doctrine, just as they are inherent in many utopian systems. But we must not forget Marx's profound observation to the effect that the value of critical elements in utopian socialism "bears an inverse relation to historical development". The more the activities of the social forces which are "shaping" the new Russia and bringing release from present-day social evils develop and assume a definite character, the more rapidly is critical-utopian socialism "losing all practical value and all theoretical justification".

A quarter of a century ago, the critical elements in Tolstoi's doctrine might at times have been of practical value for some sections of the population *in spite of* its reactionary and utopian features. This could not have been the case during, say, the last decade, because historical development had made considerable progress between the eighties and the end of the last century. In our days, since the series of events mentioned above has put an end to "Oriental" quiescence, in our days, when the consciously reactionary ideas of *Vekhi* (reactionary in the narrow-class, selfishly-class sense) have become so enormously widespread among the liberal bourgeosie and when these ideas have infected even a section of those who were almost Marxists and have created a liquidationist trend—in our days, the most direct and most profound harm is caused by every attempt to idealise Tolstoi's doctrine, to justify or to mitigate his "non-resistance", his appeals to the "Spirit", his exhortations for "moral self-perfection", his doctrine of "conscience" and universal "love", his preaching of asceticism and quietism, and so forth.

Zvezda No. 6,
January 22, 1911
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

Vol 17, pp. 49-53

NOTES

[1] *Balalaikin*—a character in M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin's *A Modern Idyl*, typifying the liberal phrasemonger, adventurer and liar.

Rech—a daily newspaper, central organ of the Constitutional-Democratic Party (Cadets), began publication in St. Petersburg in February 1906, was suppressed by the Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet on October 26 (November 8), 1917.

p. 5

[2] From N. A. Nekrasov's poem: *Who Lives Happily in Russia.*

p. 6

[3] *Post-Reform*—i.e., after the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861.

p. 7

[4] *Cadets (Constitutional-Democratic Party)*—the principal bourgeois party in Russia, the party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie. Was formed in October 1905. Under the cloak of pseudo-democratism, and calling themselves the party of "people's freedom", the Cadets tried to win the peasantry to their side. They strove to preserve tsarism in the form of a constitutional monarchy. Subsequently, the Cadets became the party of the imperialist bourgeoisie. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution the Cadets organised counter-revolutionary conspiracies and revolts against the Soviet Republic. p. 8

[5] *Trudoviks* or *Labour group*—a group of petty-bourgeois democrats in the Duma, consisting of peasants and intellectuals of Narodnik persuasion. The group was formed by the peasant deputies to the First Duma in April 1906. In the Duma the Trudoviks vacillated between the Cadets and the revolutionary Social-Democrats.

p. 8

[6] *Narodnaya Volya (People's Will)*—a secret terrorist organisation formed in August 1879. Adherents of Narodnik utopian socialism, the Narodovoltsi carried on political struggle aimed at the overthrow of tsarism and winning of political power. In their heroic fight against tsarism they proceeded from the fallacious theory of "active" heroes and "passive" crowd and counted on achieving

social transformation without the participation of the people, by resorting to the tactics of individual terrorism, intimidating and disorganising the government. Following the assassination of Alexander II on March I, 1881, the government severely suppressed the organisation. p. 8

[7] *Monsieur Coupon*—i.e., coupon clipper—a term used in Russian literature in the '80's and '90's of the last century to personify capital and the capitalists. Was first employed by Gleb Uspensky in his sketches *Grievous Sins*. p. 12

[8] *Vekhists*—the contributors to a Cadet symposium entitled *Vekhi (Landmarks)*, published in Moscow in the spring of 1909, containing articles by N. Berdyayev, S. Bulgakov, P. Struve, M. Gershenson and other representatives of the counter-revolutionary liberal bourgeoisie. In essays on the Russian intelligentsia these Vekhist writers tried to discredit the revolutionary-democratic traditions of the best representatives of the Russian people, including V. G. Belinsky and N. G. Chernyshevsky, vilified the revolutionary movement of 1905, and thanked the tsarist government for having, "with its bayonets and jails", saved the bourgeoisie from "the ire of people". The writers called upon the intelligentsia to serve the autocracy. V. I. Lenin compared the philosophy and politics of the *Vekhi* programme with that of the Black-Hundred newspaper *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*, and called the volume of essays an "encyclopedia of liberal renegacy", "nothing but a flood of reactionary mud turned on democracy". p. 13

[9] *Anthony of Volhynia*—Metropolitan, an extreme reactionary. p. 13

[10] *Novoye Vremya (New Times)*—a newspaper published in St. Petersburg from 1868 to October 1917, an organ of the reactionary nobility and bureaucracy. In 1905 became an organ of the Black-Hundreds. p. 14

[11] *Russkiye Vedomosti (Russian Gazette)*—a daily newspaper founded in Moscow in 1863 by the liberal professors at the Moscow University and by leading Zemstvo people. It represented the interests of the liberal landlords and bourgeoisie. In 1905 became the organ of the Right wing Cadets. Was suppressed after the October 1917 Revolution. p. 15

[12] *Golos Moskvy (The Voice of Moscow)*—a daily newspaper, organ of the Octobrists, the counter-revolutionary party of the big industrial bourgeoisie and big landlords. Appeared in Moscow from December 1906 to June 1915. p. 16

[13] *Taurida Palace*—the meeting place of the State Duma. p. 16

[14] This refers to the following telegram sent by the Social-Democratic deputies in the Third Duma to L. N. Tolstoi's intimate friend and disciple V. G. Chertkov, in Astapovo: "The Social-Democratic group in the State Duma, expressing the feelings of the Russian and of the whole of the international proletariat, deeply mourns the loss of the artist of genius, uncompromising and indomitable fighter

against the official church, the enemy of tyranny and slavery, who loudly raised his voice against capital punishment, and was the friend of the persecuted." p. 18

[15] *Nasha Zarya (Our Dawn)*—a monthly magazine published legally in St. Petersburg by the Liquidator-Mensheviks from 1910 to 1914. The magazine served as the rallying centre for the Liquidators in Russia. p. 23

[16] Here and further on, Lenin has in mind and quotes the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels. (See K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Moscow, 1949, pp. 79-82, 94). p. 31

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В. И. ЛЕНИН

СТАТЬИ О ТОЛСТОМ

На английском языке